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156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[822] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[698] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

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2. Marriage

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Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or, sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near her mother, likes to spend the day with her. -- Among the reasons for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy. Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and, one herself, the mother, will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

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Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

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Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirü kufü vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told

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that the ñanderü officiates at the marriage, which is commemorated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its

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/75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty • [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

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They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18, [836] Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that [825] jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and [848] adulteresses. [684]

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582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbîâ studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

[184] In contrast to what happens among the Mbîâ, who deny the possibility, the Ñandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the Ñandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guaraní woman. Although in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true for the Ñandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [604] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his [593] brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, [184] a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably also holds for the Mbîâ. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an informant from Amambai, he said, lamenting that part of the new generation already "does not know the language straight" [115] and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patrícios" /fellow [178] countrymen/, do not have the labial orifice: "In the olden times [829] no one married before having his lip pierced.

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857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[828] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[114] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[593] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
[866] lage of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some
clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
889 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guarani boy in general begins to show his independence,
working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
593 /82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute"; the person more often
indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son be-
comes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in
the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-
family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás
left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who
lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work
on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid
like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts
with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose
married son lives with his father and, although he has his own
clearing, is part of the same great-family.

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The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son: it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

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With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father; in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Nandéva the authority of the fathers-in-law is important: they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Itúva, the same as father."

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As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The

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Kayová of Banjamim Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

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The most common of the crisis situations is the one that stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

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/86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbliá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbliá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guarani mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, *póno-avykí-á*.

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The one who assists the woman in childbirth is her mother; lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group. The Nandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of a splinter of *takúñí* or bamboo (*takúára*); using scissors, "it is ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are applied as "desiccative"; the Mbliá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Nandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

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553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayua names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayua of Taquapiri have Brazilian names by which they are called. These might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily
867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult.
868 It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child
593 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number
462 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example,
that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns
other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods,
planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home,
as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare.
[136] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or
[603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

[423] The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

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000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
[515] person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six
years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the com-
munity between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated.
There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the
age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[796] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March,
[346] the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large com-
munal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During
[869] the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they re-
ceive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes
on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.

[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to
install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays
measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before
the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
• [593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the adminis-
tration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being
initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
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775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to return to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

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Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents must care for the children and educate them, which generally takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

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593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

[602] The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

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This intimate relationship is prolonged through adulthood, since it is the wife's sister, for example, who substitutes for her in the work of the clearing, during pregnancy, and the sister, when she becomes a widow, often helps with the work in the clearing of the married sister, in case she does not have a planting of her own. In adulthood the brothers frequently turn to each other to ask for help. If, for example, a man has a bad crop in a year in which the lip of one of his sons is to be pierced, a circumstance in which a great deal of maize is needed, the brother will be the first person whom he will ask for help.

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The relationship between brother and sister is a little different from the one that binds the siblings of the same sex, and this is because of the real inequality between /42/ the sexes. The older sister at one time or another might also care for the younger sister /sic/, but this is not the common case. After the beginning of puberty the relations between siblings of different sex are less intimate than in the first years of life. Although in adulthood great familiarity likewise does not customarily prevail between the brother and the sister, they are bound by close ties, the cases in which the widow, when she does not prefer to marry again, goes to live in the brother's house, not being rare. She can then still maintain her own clearing or prefer to abandon it, in order to work only in the brother's planting.

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These attitudes are extended to all the persons classified as sisters or brothers, but here, too, the greater or lesser distance influences the rigor or intensity of the attitudes.

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Grandparents and Grandchildren: This relationship is characterized by affection, so that not infrequently one sees the grandparents intensely occupied at playing with the grandchildren, especially in the period when the latter are quite small. The grandchildren have a deep feeling of respect toward the grandparents, at the same time, however, being able to treat them with a certain degree of familiarity. There is the tendency on the part of Ego to equate grandparents and grandchildren. The